Benns, Frank Lee

The Irish question, 1912-1914

...ISTORY

Edited by ...E. SCHMITT

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1912—1914

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F. LEE BENNS

Indiana University

F. S. CROFTS & CO., NEW YORK

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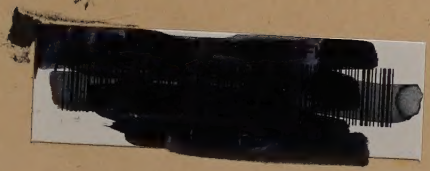

WITHDRAWN

LANDMARKS IN HISTORY

Edited by BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

THE IRISH QUESTION

1912-1914

BY

F. LEE BENNS, PH.D.

Associate Professor of History
Indiana University

NEW YORK
F. S. CROFTS & CO.
1928

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE VAIL-BALLOU PRESS, INC., BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

In order to appreciate the storm which was raised during the years 1912 to 1914 over the question of Home Rule for Ireland, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the historical antecedents of that question, for its roots lie deeply embedded in the past. As early as the twelfth century English kings undertook to extend their sway over Ireland. In the sixteenth century Henry VIII assumed the title "King of Ireland" in place of the earlier "Lord of Ireland," and secured the acknowledgment of this title by all the Irish chieftains. During these earlier centuries the antagonisms which existed between the Irish and English were largely due to differences of race and culture.

Henry VIII did more than merely change his title in relation to Ireland, however. By his break with the Roman Church and his subsequent ecclesiastical policy he introduced into Ireland a new element of discord, —religious antagonisms. These antagonisms were deepened when Elizabeth attempted to force the Protestant religion upon the Irish "in a foreign tongue and garb and at the point of foreign pikes." Irish national sentiment rallied to support the ancient faith in resistance to Saxon innovations.

Still another element of discord in Ireland was introduced by James I who set up the "plantation of Ulster" early in the seventeenth century. The Irish in the northeastern counties of the island were dispossessed and in their place was established a solid

block of Protestant Englishmen and Scotsmen who, bringing their families, were never absorbed into the Gaelic population. Further expropriations of the lands of the Catholic population were made during the same century by Cromwell and William III and these, together with the penal laws enacted against those of Catholic faith by the Irish Parliament in which Protestants were in the ascendancy, left a bitter legacy to succeeding centuries.

The Irish had their own Parliament through which they were at first able to enact their own laws. At the close of the fifteenth century, however, legislation summed up in the term "Poyning's Law" was forced through the Irish Parliament making it subordinate to and altogether dependent upon the English Parliament. In consequence, Irish patriots in succeeding centuries demanded that Poyning's Law should be repealed. Their aim was the independence of Ireland in union with Great Britain under a common Crown. This campaign brought, in 1782, the eventual repeal of Poyning's Law and the recognition by the British Government of the sovereign authority of the Irish Parliament.

But not all Irishmen were satisfied with this status. During the period of the French Revolution Wolfe Tone founded the society of the United Irishmen which was recruited at first from both Protestants and Catholics and had as its immediate aim the reform of Parliament. In the end the movement became more radical and sought to establish with French aid an independent Irish Republic. In 1798 an abortive rebellion occurred, as a result of which the British Government decided to unite the British Isles into one Kingdom under one Parliament. In spite of the opposition of Henry

Grattan a Bill establishing the Union was pushed through the Irish Parliament and, on January 1, 1801, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland came into existence.

During the next century the efforts of Irish patriots were directed toward securing the repeal of the Act of Union. Robert Emmet, Daniel O'Connell, Charles Stuart Parnell and others took up the struggle. Sometimes it resulted in futile uprisings like those of 1803, 1848, and 1867; sometimes it expressed itself merely in obstructionist tactics in the British Parliament. A solid *bloc* of Irish members of Parliament who demanded Home Rule eventually developed and came to be known as Nationalists. In the course of the Home Rule campaign, the gulf between Catholics and Protestant became even wider, for Nationalism and Unionism came in the end to be identified in general with Catholicism and Protestantism.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century two attempts were made in the British Parliament to extend some measure of Home Rule to Ireland, both at the hands of Gladstone. The first Government of Ireland Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1886. So great was the opposition to it, however, that Gladstone's Liberal Party split on the question. Ninety-three members who characterized themselves as Liberal-Unionists united with the Conservatives to defeat the bill. In the general election which ensued with Home Rule as the issue, Gladstone was defeated. The next attempt came in 1893 when Gladstone, supported by the Irish Nationalists, was again in power. This time the second Home Rule Bill was carried through the House of Commons by the combination of Liberals and Irish Nationalists, but was almost immediately

defeated in the House of Lords by a majority of more than 10 to 1. It appeared that the House of Lords was to constitute a permanent obstacle to Home Rule.

The Conservatives or Unionists, as they came to be called, were unalterably opposed to Home Rule so that during the period of their ascendancy in British politics no progress was made in that direction. With the return of the Liberals to power in 1906, however, the question of Home Rule once more began to be seriously discussed. The Nationalist Party under the leadership of John Redmond in that year voiced the "demand of the Irish nation for the restoration of national self-government" and announced that they would support no English party or Government which did not favor Home Rule.

By the close of the year 1909 Prime Minister Asquith had pronounced in favor of "a system of full self-government" for Ireland. The Irish Nationalists, in consequence, in 1910 urged that "hearty support should be given to all candidates who accept Mr. Asquith's declaration." In the critical election of that year the Liberal representation declined to such an extent that the Irish Nationalists held the balance of power between the Liberals and Unionists. It was only with their support that Mr. Lloyd George was enabled to secure the enactment of his famous Budget. It was only with their support that Asquith's Government succeeded in depriving the House of Lords of its veto power by the revolutionary Parliament Act of 1911.

This Act provided that a bill, passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, although rejected by the House of Lords, might be presented for the King's assent. On receiving that assent, such a

bill became a law in spite of the fact that the House of Lords had not consented to it—provided that two years had elapsed between the second reading of the bill in the first session and the date on which it passed the House of Commons for the third time. Obviously such a measure cleared the way for the final enactment of an Irish Home Rule Bill. The same coalition of parties in the House of Commons which had passed the Parliament Act could now pass a Home Rule Bill, and the most that the House of Lords could do would be to delay it for two years. Irish Nationalists looked forward confidently to the introduction of their long-awaited Home Rule measure in the session of 1912.

DATA ON THE SOURCES

The House of Commons Debates, Fifth Series, London. The official stenographic report of the proceedings of the British House of Commons.

The House of Lords Debates, Fifth Series, London. The official stenographic report of the proceedings of the British House of Lords.

The Annual Register, London. A carefully compiled annual review of public events in the British Empire and abroad, valuable for its brief summaries of speeches delivered in Parliament and elsewhere on public questions.

The Literary Digest, London and New York. An eclectic weekly magazine, valuable for its extensive excerpts from newspapers and other sources reflecting public opinion on both sides of important political and international questions.

Freeman's Journal, Dublin. An Irish Nationalist newspaper, the official organ of Mr. John Redmond, the Irish Nationalist Leader in the House of Commons.

Derry Standard, Londonderry. A Unionist newspaper published in Ulster.

Northern Standard, Monaghan. A Unionist newspaper published in Ulster.

The Times, London. The weekly edition of the well-known London newspaper of the same name. Unionist.

Daily Chronicle, London. Liberal.

Daily Mail, London. Unionist.

Daily News, London. Liberal.

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Westminster Gazette, London. Liberal.

Guardian, Manchester. One of the most influential Liberal newspapers in the North of England.

THE SOURCES

Part I. Sentiment in Ireland on the Eve of the Third Home Rule Bill

1. *The Times* (London), April 5, 1912.

Dublin, March 31.

From the spectacular point of view the Nationalist demonstration in Dublin to-day was a great success. . . . Immense pains were taken to make the meeting a representative and impressive demonstration of Nationalist Ireland's passionate desire for the Home Rule Bill which it has not yet seen. . . . Sixty-four special trains were run to the capital from all parts of Ireland. Twenty-five of these came from the south and 18 from Ulster.

The area of the meetings made an impressive show when the procession arrived and broke up around the different platforms. . . . Mr. Redmond's platform was the chief centre of interest. . . . I calculate the attendance at about 100,000, . . .

The speech-making ended at half-past 4 o'clock, when a resolution asserting Ireland's right to national self-government was put simultaneously from all the platforms and carried by acclamations. Immediately afterwards the massed bands played "God Save Ireland," and the great gathering, one of the largest ever seen in Dublin, broke up in the direction of the various railway stations. . . .

Mr. John Redmond, M.P., in the course of his speech said:

This great gathering is worthy of the solemn moment at which we stand in the history of our country. In a few short days we will all be discussing the terms of a great treaty of peace between Ireland, England, and the Empire. Your elected representatives will scrutinize its provisions with jealous care. They will take counsel in a great National Convention with the leaders of public opinion in Ireland. But for myself —and I speak only for myself for this—I desire to-day to say that I entertain a confident belief that the Home Rule Bill will be a great measure. (Cheers.) It will be adequate for the purpose of those who promote it.

Now what are these purposes? First, to put an end, once for all, to the disastrous and ruinous war which has gone on between Ireland and England and the Empire. The Irish people, I believe, have always been willing to make peace with England. To-day they are eager for the war to end. The second purpose is to enable Ireland, with dignity and self-respect, to enter for the first time into co-partnership in the Empire with perfect good faith and with perfect loyalty, on a footing of equality and of liberty. The third purpose is to re-establish national self-government in Ireland by a Parliament fully representative of all creeds and classes, a Parliament with power to govern all purely Irish affairs in accordance with the dictates of Irish public opinion, and a Parliament with adequate financial resources for the development of Ireland, so that they may be able to turn her in the near future into a prosperous land which will be able to support herself, and which in the future will, I believe, be well

able to bear her own share of Imperial obligations.

2. *The Times* (London), Jan. 5, 1912.

At the annual meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council in Belfast on Wednesday [Jan. 3], a resolution was passed repeating the resolve of the Ulster Convention in 1892 to repudiate the authority of the Irish parliament should it be ever constituted, and declaring that should the claim of Ulster to enjoy Constitutional privileges and rights as an integral part of the United Kingdom be refused the only alternate would be the Ulster Provincial Government.

3. *The Times* (London), Jan. 12, 1912.

A vast gathering of people, variously estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000, were, in spite of all difficulties of transport, collected [at Omagh, January 5, 1912] from all parts of Central and Western Ulster, the portions of the province which by implication of the phrase North-East Ulster are commonly assigned to the Nationalist sphere. . . .

Sir E. Carson was loudly cheered on rising to address the meeting. He said the demand of Ulster loyalists was plain, honest, and simple. It was that they should be allowed to continue as citizens of the United Kingdom under the same King and under the same Parliament in which they were born. (Cheers.) They asked no more, and they would accept no less. They wished for no ascendancy, and they would have none over them. They asked for no separate Parliament for Ulster. They would accept none. They would remain as they were, and if England and Scotland told them that they could not remain as they were they would take the matter into their own hands and they would

keep it in their own hands until they were admitted back to what was their birthright. (Cheers.)

4. *The Times* (London), April 12, 1912.

From 80,000 to 100,000 men, in military order and showing in their carriage the effects of drill and discipline, marched past the saluting point where Mr. Bonar Law stood [at Malmoral, April 9, 1912]. The procession was headed by Lord Hamilton leading the Prentice Boys of Derry, and throughout one saw mingled in the ranks patrician and plebeian, clergy and laity, masters and men—that effacement of class distinctions which is significant of the movement in the truest sense national. Old and young marched side by side, though most of the men, one noted, were of serviceable age. In spite of the mixture of classes it was a remarkably well-dressed crowd, working-class organizations, like the Belfast shipwrights, looking especially well turned out.

The procession, of course, was formed chiefly of men drawn from the plantation counties of Ulster, but there were contingents from every one of the four provinces of Ireland and from all parts of the island, even distant Kerry and rebellious Cork and Clare being represented. The Dublin and Wicklon contingents were especially strong and these and all the other deputations from the South obtained a great reception and responded with the enthusiasm of men who were conscious that they are in front of the battle.

5. *National Review* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* March 2, 1912.

The real evil, as every Irishman knows to his bitter cost, is that religious intolerance is habitually and

rigidly exercised against Roman Catholics by the Roman Catholic priesthood. The Irish Roman Catholic is the slave of the priest. That he should be taught this religious dogma or that is another affair with which no one need interfere. But the priest claims all. He claims the body and the soul and the goods of his people, and enforces his claim with threats of grievous physical ill in this world and the fires of purgatory in the next. No man can marry without permission of the priest. If he takes to wife a Protestant, the Church, under the *Ne Temere* decree, declares the marriage null and void, and the children of it are denounced as bastards. No man can buy or sell or hold a farm but by leave of the priest. No man dare vote but as the priest directs. No man can save a penny more than the priest will spare him, unless the poor wretch hoards in secret. There is not an honest man who knows what Ireland is to-day who will not vouch for the absolute truth of every one of these statements.

Now if Ireland were wholly Roman Catholic, to confer Home Rule upon her would be virtually to confer the power of civil governance upon the Roman Catholic priesthood. But, as about one-fourth of the population is Protestant, the effect of granting Home Rule to Ireland would be to place the Protestant minority at the mercy of a Roman Catholic majority. Hence the outbreak of civil war will instantly follow upon the institution of an Irish Government. Amid the shadow-dance of politics, the vacillations, whisperings, intrigues, boasting, complaints, false promises, and confusions that have stupefied the browbeaten British public, there has been at least one real thing, and its name is Ulster. There are (let us say) two hundred thousand or so resolute men in northeast Ulster who

have made a last stand against the betrayal by consent which has been so smoothly proceeding during the last five years.

6. *Weekly Freeman* (Dublin), quoted in *Literary Digest,* Feb. 24, 1912.

Irish Nationalists are, of course, quite confident at present, both as to the prospects of Home Rule, and as to the hollowness of the Orange brag and buncombe and bluster. They see no reason to doubt the sincerity of the Government on the Irish question, particularly as they are themselves united almost as one man, and determined that the question shall be solved, and on Irish lines. And as to the Orange rebellion, that has been going to break out so often without ever having broken out at all, that no Irish Nationalist of common sense pays any attention to it. For the very same reason, perhaps, the Government are paying no attention to the threats and the rest of it this time. . . . We know quite well there are decent Orangemen, who, indeed, we hope and trust will become zealous members of the new Ireland, on the establishment of which, indeed, the decent Orangeman will, *ipso-facto,* cease to be an Orangeman at all. But, in addition to the decent Orangeman, there is the hooligan Orangeman, and it is requisite that the authorities should keep an eye on him, and an eye on those whose vicious, malicious, bigoted speeches inspire him to his rioting and brutality. None of this bluster or riot can stop Home Rule.

Part II. The Chief Political Provisions of the Third Home Rule Bill

7. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, *Passim.*
[Extracts from Prime Minister Asquith's explanation of the Bill.]

a

. . . the Imperial Parliament can neither surrender nor share its supreme authority with any other body or any other part of His Majesty's Dominions. That is the cardinal principle on which this Bill is founded; it is the cardinal principle on which this Bill proceeds, and it is stated in express terms in its first Clause:—

"Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in this Act, the supreme power and authority of Parliament in the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within His Majesty's Dominions." [1407, 1408]

b

We mean this Bill to confer upon Ireland, in regard to Irish concerns, local autonomy, subject only to such reservations and safeguards as the peculiar circumstances of the case require. The Bill, therefore, proceeds in the first Section and first Clause to declare that—

"after the appointed day there shall be in Ireland an Irish Parliament, consisting of His Majesty the King, and two Houses, namely, the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons."

What are to be the legislative powers of that body? It is to have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland. [1408]

c

. . . what are the limitations of that general grant of legislative powers. In the first place it is limited by territorial limitations by the words I have quoted—

"power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland."

The Bill goes on to say that they shall only have power to make laws in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland or some part thereof. You start with a territorial limitation: that is perfectly clear. In the next place we have excluded . . . certain matters which, although they may fall within the territorial limit, are matters which everybody will admit it is desirable should not be dealt with by the new body. These are substantially the same as the matters enumerated in the Bill of 1893—matters affecting the Crown, the making of peace and war, the Army, the Navy, treaties, dignities, treason, and a number of other matters as hon. Members will readily recognise by referring to the two Bills. We have found it necessary to-day, in consequence of legislation which has taken place between that time and this . . . to propose the exclusion of certain Irish services—described in this Bill

as reserved services—services reserved for the Imperial Parliament and the Imperial Executive.

First, and in some ways the most important, is the subject matter of the Irish Land Purchase Act. . . . That is the first of the reserved services, together with the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, and the national Insurance Act, 1911. The second of the reserved services is the Royal Irish Constabulary. The third is the Post Office Savings Banks; next, Public Loans, as far as respects loans made in Ireland before the passing of this Act; and finally, the collection of taxes other than duties of postage. . . .

While we have treated these as reserved services, in regard to which the Irish Parliament will have neither the power of legislation nor of administration, we have provided in the Bill that in regard to some of them there shall be either an automatic transfer or a transfer at the option of the Irish Parliament. . . . In addition to these excluded topics embraced in the reserved services, we provide in the Bill that the Irish Parliament cannot repeal or alter any provision of the Act itself, except in regard to certain subsidiary matters which are specially dealt with. Neither will it have the power to affect the right of appeal, which . . . we are going to give to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in all the questions which may arise as to the validity of the laws passed by that Parliament itself. [1408–1410]

d

We thought, and do think it right, to make special provisions for the protection and preservation of religious equality. I will read the exact terms of the

Clause—it is Clause 3 in the Bill—which we shall submit for the consideration of the House:—

"In the exercise of their power to make laws under this Act, the Irish Parliament shall not make a law so as either directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion"

—that was in the Bill of 1893—

"or prohibit the free exercise thereof, or to give a preference, privilege or advantage, or impose any disability or disadvantage on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, or to make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage."

These words, as the House will see, are chosen specially to exclude the possibility—I have never thought it myself even a possibility—of legislation on the part of this new Irish Parliament to make any attempt to give effect to either of those recent Papal pronouncements which go by the name of the *Ne temere* and *Motu proprio* decrees, in other words, to establish any privileged status of clerical persons before the tribunals of the country, or in any way to interfere with the validity of mixed marriages between persons of different religious beliefs. [1410, 1411]

e

. . . there is the veto of the Lord Lieutenant under the Seventh Clause of the Bill, which provides that he shall give or withhold his consent to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Parliament subject to two limitations—namely, first, he shall comply with

any instructions given by His Majesty . . . in respect of any such Bill; and next, he shall, if so directed by His Majesty . . . postpone giving the assent of His Majesty to any such Bill for such period as His Majesty . . . may direct. So we reserve completely unimpaired, subject to the responsibility of the Executive here, the Imperial Parliament, the power of vetoing or postponing any legislation which the Irish Parliament may pass. Finally, there is and must remain, and it is expressly recognised, the over-riding force of Imperial legislation, which can at any time nullify, amend, or alter any Act of the Irish Parliament. To make that matter abundantly clear we have provided in the last Clause of the Bill in these terms:—

"Where any Act of the Irish Parliament deals with any matter with respect to which the Irish Parliament have power to make laws, which is dealt with by any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the passing of this Act and extending to Ireland the Act of the Irish Parliament shall be read subject to the Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and, so far as it is repugnant to that Act, but no further, it shall be void." [1411, 1412]

f

If any question arise as to the validity of an Irish Act, as to whether it is or is not within the powers conferred by this Statute, the question will be settled . . . first of all by an appeal to the Irish Court of Appeal, and from it to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and next . . . at the instance either of the Lord Lieutenant or of the Secretary of State here by a special reference to the Judicial Committee, which

shall determine the point even before the Act has come into operation at all. [1412]

g

. . . we propose that it [the Irish Parliament] shall consist of two Houses—one to be called the Senate and the other the House of Commons. The Senate is to consist of forty Members, and the question, of course, arises in what manner and by what process those forty Members are to be selected. It will always be recognised, I think, that they should not be simply elected by the constituencies who return Members to the Lower House. . . .

We have come to the conclusion . . . that the best mode of dealing with this matter will be that the Senate should be a nominated body. We think so in view of the special circumstance of Ireland. It is most desirable to get in your Senate, if you can, representatives of the minority, persons who will safeguard the interests of the minority, persons who will not or who might not have a fair chance of being elected in a popular election, and it is still more desirable perhaps in Ireland than anywhere else that you should be able to draw for the purposes of your Senate upon resources which are not available in the case of elections. We believe that on the whole the exigencies of the case and the peculiar conditions of Ireland will be best satisfied by a nominated body—a body nominated, in the first instance here by the Imperial Executive, the Members to hold office for eight years, and to retire by rotation, and as they retire their places to be filled up by the Irish Executive. . . . We propose that the numbers of the Lower House should be 164 elected by the existing

Irish constituencies. The unit of population is to be 27,000. There will be no constituency with a population of less than 27,000 which will be entitled to return a Member. The effect will be this: Ulster will have 59 Members; Leinster, 41; Munster, 37; and Connaught, 25, and if you add the Universities . . . that makes a total of 164. If you divide that in another way it comes to this—Counties 128, Boroughs 34, Universities 2. . . . When there is disagreement between the two Houses . . . we have followed the precedent of the South African Constitution, and provided that the two Houses should sit together and vote together—that is to say, if the Lower House persists after the disagreement in its view on the particular measure in question. [1412–1414]

h

The head of the Executive will be, as now, the Lord Lieutenant, in whose appointment religious disability will no longer count. The office will be open to any of His Majesty's subjects without distinction of creed, and we propose . . . that he shall hold his office for a fixed term of years. The Lord Lieutenant will be advised in regard to Irish matters by an Irish Executive, and I wish to make it perfectly clear that, as far as the Executive in Ireland is concerned, the area of its authority will be co-extensive with the legislative power of the Parliament—neither greater nor less. In other words, whatever matters are for the time being within the legislative competence of the Irish Parliament will, for administrative purposes, be within the ambit of the Irish Executive, and whatever matters are for the time being outside the legislative province of the Irish Par-

liament will remain under the control and subject to the administration of the Imperial Executive. [1414]

i

Now I come to the last point, that is, the future representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. . . . We regard the retention of the Irish Members at Westminster as essential. . . . In the first place, the Imperial House of Commons will still continue to tax the whole of the United Kingdom.

Next, for some years at any rate, this House of Commons and the Imperial Executive will be responsible for the administration of all the reserved services in which Ireland is vitally interested. But, further, in our view, whatever other changes may be made, and however far the devolution of local affairs to local bodies may be carried, the House of Commons must continue to be the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, fairly representing all its constituent parts and inviting the co-operation of each of them in the supervision of their common interests, the transaction of their common business, and the discharge of their joint and corporate trust to the Empire as a whole. . . . [1421, 1423]

j

We do not think that where Ireland has obtained full control of her own affairs, either justice or policy requires Ireland to continue to be represented here on the same footing in regard to population as the other component parts of the United Kingdom, for whom this House will still continue to be the organ of legislation; nor do we believe that the Irish people, themselves, are prepared to advance any such claim. Under

our plan, the Irish representation at Westminster will be reduced to forty-two; in other words, Ireland will have a Member here, roughly, for every 100,000 of her population. This arrangement does not necessitate any general redistribution; but it involves the merger of some of the Irish boroughs and counties, and the grouping together of some counties which at present have separate representations. Three boroughs will be left: Belfast will have four Members, Dublin three, and Cork one. The Universities for this purpose will cease to be represented.

There will be eight borough Members and thirty-four county Members. I may point out that on the assumption that the Irish representation here continues for party purposes to be divided in something like the same proportions as it has been for the last five and twenty years . . . the forty-two Members will consist roughly of eight Unionists and thirty-four Nationalists, showing a Nationalist majority of twenty-six votes. [1422, 1433]

Part III. Debate in the House of Commons on the First Reading of the Third Home Rule Bill

8. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, 1400–1405. [Extracts from Prime Minister Asquith's speech, on April 12, 1912, asking "leave to bring in a bill to amend the provisions for the Government of Ireland."]

a

. . . from the date of the extension of the Franchise in 1884 we have had eight General Elections. The fortunes of parties in this House have during that time ebbed and flowed; Governments have come and gone; great personalities have filled the scene, and passed away. We have had as a nation peace and war, adversity and prosperity, shifting issues, changing policies; but throughout the welter and confusion, amid all the varying phases and fields of our electoral and Parliamentary campaigns, one thing has remained constant, subject neither to eclipse nor wane, the insistence and persistence of the Irish demand. It remains to-day, in April, 1912 what it was in January, 1886, . . . a demand preferred by four-fifths of the elected representatives of the Irish people. Analyse the figures a little more closely, and they become even more significant.

Here in Great Britain, with the exception of a few

peculiarly situated areas, we are accustomed to see the Parliamentary complexion of particular constituencies change from time to time in correspondence with the changes in public opinion, but over by far the larger part of Ireland, while this great issue of national self-government dominates the scene, you see nothing of the kind. The vast majority of the Nationalists' seats are not even contested by those who differ from them. Eighty per cent. at the last Election of the Nationalist Members were returned without opposition. In the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, with, I believe, only three exceptions . . . the only pollings that took place were between rival Nationalist candidates. [1400]

b

. . . Taking Ulster as a whole, the province of Ulster is represented at this moment, how? By seventeen Unionists and sixteen Home Rulers.

These figures in themselves are quite sufficient to show the misleading character of the pretence that Ulster would die rather than accept Home Rule. I have never under-estimated the force, and I have never spoken with disrespect of the motives of the strong and determined hostility which is felt to Home Rule by the majority in the north-eastern counties of Ulster. . . . It is a factor which sane and prudent statesmanship cannot and ought not to leave out of account. I hope presently to show that we have not ignored it in the framing of this Bill. But we cannot admit, and we will not admit, the right of a minority of the people, and relatively a small minority—particularly when every possible care is being taken to safeguard their special

interests and susceptibilities—to veto the verdict of the vast body of their countrymen. [1400, 1401]

c

. . . the operation of elective bodies, such as the county councils, which have now been at work for over fifteen years, has not been attended by the jobbery, maladministration, and persecution of minorities, which were so glibly predicted as the inevitable incidence of self-government in Ireland. [1402]

d

I wish now to . . . consider the same problem . . . from a wider point of view, that of the United Kingdom and the Empire at large. I . . . have always presented the case for Irish Home Rule as the first step . . . in a larger and more comprehensive policy. I said so . . . in . . . 1893, and in the twenty years which have since elapsed there is not one year which has not illustrated and emphasised with ever-growing cogency and clearness the imperative need, in the interests of the United Kingdom and of the Empire as a whole, for the emancipation from local cares and local burdens of the Imperial Parliament. . . . Not only is our local legislation hopelessly in arrear but under our existing arrangements it is constantly coloured and twisted and warped by the voices and votes of those who have no direct concern in the matter. Local experience, local sentiment, and local interest are over-ridden and set at nought. You will never get . . . the separate concerns of the different parts of this United Kingdom treated either with adequate time or with adequate knowledge and sympathy until you . . . hand them

over to the representatives whom alone they immediately affect.

. . . consider for a moment the extent and variety of the field over which we insist upon exercising daily and exclusive supervision. Look at the Question Paper of this House on a Monday or Thursday in any week you like to select. What does it include, or, rather, what does it not include?

. . . I do not exaggerate when I say that if you were to sit continuously during the whole twelve months of the year, and worked through them with unremitting ardour and assiduity, you would find at the end not only that there were still large arrears of legislation which you had not even attempted to overtake, not only enormous sums raised by taxation whose appropriation had never even been discussed, but that there were vast areas of the Empire—I do not now speak of the Self-governing Dominions—for which we are still directly responsible as trustees, to whose concerns we had not been able to afford so much as one single night. From the Imperial point of view, that is the case for Home Rule. [1403–1405]

9. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, *Passim.* [Extracts from Sir Edward Carson's speech, April 12, 1912.]

. . . I oppose even the introduction of this Bill, and I do so for this reason, that I gather . . . that we will no longer have in Ireland the protection of an Executive which is responsible to this Parliament. That is what we have now. That is what this country

invited us to have. That is what we loyally accepted, that is what, with those matchless phrases but I do not think always with great sincerity, the Prime Minister now asks us to abandon. . . . [1427, 1428]

b

The right hon. Gentleman has asked what is our alternative. Our alternative then [1893] was to maintain the union and to do justice to Ireland. That has been done with results which, I venture to think, so great have they been in the direction of the prosperity of Ireland, could not have been contemplated by even the most optimistic Member of this House of either party. [1430]

c

Some people say this is really a religious question. . . . There is no doubt that the broad dividing line in Ireland in relation to this question of the Home Rule Bill can broadly be said to put on one side the Protestants, and on the other side the Roman Catholics. . . . It is unfortunate that that should be the dividing line, but it is there and you cannot neglect it. The reason this is the dividing line in my opinion is an historical one. In my opinion it is the dividing line, because Protestanism has in history been looked upon as the British occupation in Ireland. It is the dividing line, because when you attempted to bring home to the people the principles of the Reformation, you did not succeed in Ireland as you did in England and in Scotland. There remains, however, the dividing line, and I would like to know when a statesman takes up a question he has to solve with that line there, what

argument is there that you can raise for giving Home Rule to Ireland that you do not equally raise for giving Home Rule to that Protestant minority in the north-east province? I believe there is none. [1440]

10. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, *Passim.* [Extracts from Viscount Castlereagh's speech, April 12, 1912.]

a

To my mind the main objection to this Bill is that it is a retrograde step. It is entirely in opposition to the process of modern civilised development as we have been able to see it in different portions of the world. The tendency of modern development is to bring closer together rather than to make division between countries or communities. . . . [1461]

b

The attitude of the Government on this question is . . . under the suspicion that they have brought in this measure as a matter of expediency. We have heard the old phrase of being compelled to toe the line. I believe that that really expresses the situation. . . . There is one very conclusive proof of that. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister . . . has been in power since 1906 and until 1912 there has been practically no mention whatever of Home Rule. . . . I shall be interested to hear how he will explain the fact that during these last seven years, and until the Government were dependent on Irish votes for the maintenance of their position, there was practically no mention of this great measure of self-government there. . . . [1461–1463]

c

We must realise that there are two races and two creeds in Ireland, and the same argument which urges the Government to grant the Nationalists the self-government which they desire must also give force to the argument that self-government should also be granted to the individuals who live in the north of Ireland. We do not want that government; we want to remain under the rule of this country, as it has existed for the last hundred years, and I would make an appeal to all hon. Gentlemen in this House to realise that under the Union Ireland has prospered. . . . [1465, 1466]

11. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, 1478, 1481 [Extract from Captain Craig's speech, April 12, 1912.]

Why is it that our opposition to Home Rule is so stern and unbending? . . . It is because in studying this question independently and looking at it from the point of view of the welfare of the people of my native land that I throw myself heart and soul into the endeavour to prevent this grave wrong which the Government are doing and in seeing that it shall never be put upon my countrymen. What possible benefit can it be to those people to be cut off from the protection of Great Britain and the greatest Empire in the world? . . . You destroy all that, and you hand over the control to a miserable body, I am almost ashamed to mention it, of forty men, nominally nominated by right hon. Gentlemen opposite, but really nominated at the dictation of the hon. Member for Waterford [Mr. Redmond]. For eight long years

you are to have an Upper Chamber consisting of the nominees of the United Irish League, and the Sinn Feinners, the Molly Maguires, and other extraordinary leagues. The thing would be absolutely absurd if it were not so pathetic to think that the party in Ulster should be handed over to the tender mercies of forty chosen spirits picked from the Nationalist party. . . .

. . . In that appalling state of affairs we loyalists in Ireland find ourselves compelled to take the whole matter into our own hands. . . . I say that under no circumstances whatsoever shall we who have control of certain parts of Ulster accept this Bill, or submit to it when it is passed. . . .

12. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, *Passim.* [Extracts from Mr. John Redmond's speech, April 12, 1912.]

a

What are the main arguments against the principle of self-government for Ireland? The first of them is the question of separation, and Unionist orators . . . have constantly been saying that the Irish leaders are separatists. I will be perfectly frank on this matter. There always have been and there is to-day, a certain section of Irishmen who would like to see separation from this country. They are a small, a very small section. They were once a large section. . . . These men who hold these views at this moment only desire separation as an alternative to the present system, and if you change the present system and give into the hands of Irishmen the management of purely Irish affairs even that small feeling in favour of separation will disappear, and, if it survive at all, I would like to know

how under those circumstances it would be stronger or more powerful for mischief than at the present moment? . . . We deny that we are separatists, and we say we are willing, as Parnell was willing, to accept a subordinate Parliament created by Statute of this Imperial Legislature, as a final settlement of Ireland's claims. [1443–1445]

b

. . . As far as we are concerned, we in Ireland regard no insult as so grievous as the insult that we, as a nation, are intolerant in matters of religion. We believe that your Protestant Unionist historian Lecky told the truth when he said that was never a characteristic of the Irish people all through their history. We believe the testimony of John Wesley, who, after his journey in Ireland, recorded in his journal, that he was received everywhere with kindness, and who spoke in the highest terms of the tolerant spirit of the Catholics of Ireland. Still, there are, we admit, Protestants in Ireland, and in this country who do not believe that, and who, many of them apparently, entertain honest fears upon this matter. Our position on that point is this: We say, "put into your Bill any safeguards you like." [1445]

c

. . . I believe it [the Bill] will result in the greater unity and strength of the Empire; I believe it will put an end once and for all to—(An Hon. Member: "Cattle-driving")—the wretched ill-will, suspicion, and disaffection that have existed in Ireland, and to the suspicion and misunderstanding that have existed between this country and Ireland; I believe it will have

the effect of turning Ireland in time—of course, it will take time—into a happy and prosperous country, with a united, loyal, and contented people. [1451, 1452]

13. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, 1454–1456. [Extract from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's speech, April 12, 1912.]

One of the reasons why I am going to support this Bill at every stage is that I am profoundly convinced that its effect upon the people of Ireland will be such that safeguards will really become unnecessary, that you will have a people, both in the north and the south, who will know each other so well that social co-operation will become as the very breath of their lives, and that to the differences that now unfortunately lie between them this Bill will give a final and decisive answer. . . . But the fundamental position, and that is why my colleagues are going to support this Bill heartily and thoroughly, is that the whole of our Empire is based upon self-government. If our predecessors had not been wise enough to establish local self-government for Canada, for New Zealand, for Australia, and more latterly for South Africa, there would have been no Empire in existence at present. . . . To-day we are being asked, and we are going to support the request, to allow the Prime Minister to introduce a Bill which will do for Ireland what wise statesmen have done in years gone by for more remote parts of this Empire. There is not a single self-governing Dominion in this Empire but has officially passed a resolution declaring itself in favour of Home Rule. . . .

14. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XXXVI, 1486. [Extract from Mr. Eugene Wason's speech, April 12, 1912.]

. . . I am glad to be able to stand up here and say, on behalf of the Scotch Members, of whom I have the honour to be chairman, I believe every one will stand loyally by the Government in support of this measure, notwithstanding the opposition, the religious opposition, . . . I know what it is. I was brought up in a narrow school of Presbyterianism, where we were taught to believe that Catholics were idolators, and that they would all be found in the wrong place in the other world. But I have long outgrown that, and I am glad to think that these religious differences have small effect on men who have lived in the world and have rubbed shoulders with men of other races and other creeds. . . . The Bill will pass, and, in that event, I venture to say the only reason which has kept the great Republic of the United States of America in a sort of semi-hostility towards us will pass away.

Part IV. Vicissitudes of the Home Rule Struggle April 12, 1912 to July 15, 1913

15. *The Times* (London), April 19, 1912.

After many weary months of baffled curiosity and puzzled speculation we now know the secret of the third Home Rule Bill. The scheme which the Prime Minister yesterday unfolded is not one that will be received in any quarter with much enthusiasm. It will disappoint the hopes of Nationalist Ireland, it will not allay the fears or diminish the hostility of Unionist Ireland, and, if we are not much mistaken, it will swell the rising tide of opposition in Great Britain to a level high enough to submerge the Government and their Bill in no distant future. It will not even satisfy any of the various schools of theoretical Home Rulers. The Bill is . . . an attempt to find a middle term between positions hopelessly opposed, to reconcile irreconcilables and fulfill conditions that are mutually contradictory. We are not to have the Union and we are not to have Separation. The supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom are to remain unaffected, and yet Ireland is to be endowed with a real autonomy. She is not to have the status of a self-governing colony; and the eager advocates of that solution, especially in Ireland itself, must submit to disappointment. But neither is she to be placed in a

federal relation to the other parts of the United Kingdom. . . . Altogether the Bill is a Bill for placing one of the two Irish nations in a privileged position to the injury of the other, and at the expense of the people of Great Britain; and for doing this in such a way as to destroy any chance there could possibly be of winning the allegiance of the nation so favoured.

16. *Daily News* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* May 4, 1912.

It is a skilful piece of workmanship based on large and liberal lines. It is not a shadow, but a substance. It gives Ireland, if not full satisfaction, at least a substantial fulfilment of her demands. It preserves inviolate the unity of the Empire and gives to the minority in Ireland the fullest possible protection against any form of injustice. Its passage into law will mark the beginning of a new and happier chapter in the dark story of John Bull's Other Island. It will remove the one blot upon the records of our external rule, . . .

17. *The Times* (London), May 17, 1912.

The second reading of the Home Rule Bill was carried last week [May 9, 1912] by a majority of 101 in a House of 648 members. . . . Only one Liberal member, Sir George Kemp, had the courage to speak and another, Sir Clifford Cory, to vote against the second reading. . . . May 9 now becomes a critical and important date under the provisions of the Parliament Act. Two years must elapse between the date of the second reading and the final passage of the Bill for the third time by the House of Commons, after which, even if rejected a third time by the House of Lords, it automatically becomes law.

18. *The Times* (London), Sept. 27, 1912.

BELFAST, Sept. 23.

The Ulster Unionist Council met privately this morning in the Old Town Hall, in which are housed the various organizations that are unitedly conducting the movement against Home Rule. Sir Edward Carson presided, and nearly 500 delegates were present. The principal business was the ratification of the Covenant. Its terms were adopted with a sober and solemn determination befitting its spirit and purport. All the delegates then signed an undertaking that they would subscribe to the Covenant, each in his own district, next Saturday, . . .

19. *The Times* (London), Sept. 27, 1912.

The terms of the Solemn Covenant against Home Rule to be signed by the Unionists of Ulster on Ulster Day, September 28, are as follows:—

Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of his Gracious Majesty, King George V., humbly relying on the God Whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, hereby pledge ourselves in Solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending, for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found neces-

sary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland; and, in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names, and, further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant.

20. *The Times* (London), Sept. 27, 1912.

BELFAST, Sept. 19.

The Ulster Women's Unionist Association this afternoon issued the following Covenant to be signed on Ulster Day by the Loyalist Women of the province:—

We, whose names are under-written, women of Ulster, loyal subjects of our Gracious King, being firmly persuaded that Home Rule would be disastrous to our country, desire to associate ourselves with the men of Ulster in their uncompromising opposition to the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament, whereby it is proposed to drive Ulster out of her cherished place in the Constitution of the United Kingdom, and to place her under the domination and control of a Parliament in Ireland. Praying that from this calamity God will save Ireland, we hereto subscribe our names.

21. *The Times* (London), Nov. 22, 1912.

Sir Edward Carson announced at last week's Unionist Conference that in the province of Ulster alone 218,206 men above the age of 16 signed the Covenant and 228,999 women signed the declaration to back up

their menfolk. In Glasgow alone 11,000 Ulstermen signed the Covenant.

22. *Westminster Gazette* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest*, Aug. 24, 1912.

There is unquestionably a small fanatical party in Ulster which, if the Opposition leaders choose to encourage it, can be beaten up to violent resistance. Apparently it is to be encouraged if Home Rule is carried under this Parliament, and it is not to be encouraged if Home Rule is carried after another election. The assumption of all Unionist speeches on Ulster is that it can be turned on or off at will, organized so as to operate at a certain date or under certain conditions, and not to operate before that date or under other conditions. . . . The movement is to that extent of their making, and we may say with much confidence that without their sanction and approval there would be no dream of organized rebellion at all, tho there might be a certain amount of rowdyism. . . .

The Ulster movement is the second or third die-hard movement which has been attempted by the Unionist party, and each of them is justified by the pretext that there must be another election before anything is done about anything. We have had two elections in little more than two years, and if anything was clear to the ordinary intelligence at the last election it was that the return of the Liberal party to power must mean the passing of a Home Rule Bill. It was declared specifically by the Prime Minister and his colleagues, it was alleged by every member of the Opposition. Yet, having staked and lost, the Opposi-

tion leaders now look to Ulster to save them from the consequences. . . .

23. *The Times* (London), Oct. 4, 1912.

Mr. Redmond has addressed a letter to members of the Irish Nationalist Party, in the course of which he says:—

As you are aware, Parliament reassembles on Monday next, October 7. The chief business will be the continuation and completion of the remaining stages of the Home Rule Bill. It is evident that all the efforts of the Unionist party will be directed to ceaseless effort by surprise divisions and continuous obstruction to defeat the Government and to destroy the Home Rule Bill. Under the circumstances the imperative duty of every member of the Irish party is plain. It is to be present during every hour of the Autumn Session. I have therefore very earnestly to request your presence in the House of Commons on Monday afternoon next at question time.

24. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XLVI, 377. [Jan. 1, 1913.]

Clause I.—(Establishment of the Irish Parliament.)

(1) On and after the appointed day there shall be in Ireland an Irish Parliament consisting of His Majesty the King and two Houses, namely, the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons.

(2) Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in this Act, the

supreme power and authority of Parliament in the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within His Majesty's Dominions.

SIR EDWARD CARSON: I beg to move, in subsection (1), after the word "Ireland" ("that there shall be in Ireland"), to insert the words "except in the province of Ulster."

25. *House of Commons Debates* (5s), XLVI, 384, 385 [Extract from Sir Edward Carson's speech, Jan. 1, 1913.]

Take the four counties alone—I leave out Fermanagh and Tyrone, which are also plantation counties—which, I believe, are referred to as North-East Ulster. The population of those four counties alone is about five times as much as the population of Newfoundland, which you have never compelled to go into union with any country. It is as large as the population of New Zealand or larger, I think a great deal larger, and it is very nearly as large, if not as large, as the whole white population of South Africa, to which you are so fond of referring. In these circumstances, is our demand an extravagant one, that with a population such as that we should be excluded from the operation of a Bill that we loathe? . . . In my opinion she [Ulster] will be in a degraded position; she will be put into a perpetual minority in the House in Dublin, and the great and expanding industries in the North of Ireland will be at the mercy and governed, by whom? —I gave the figures, I think, the day before yesterday in this House—some three or four hundred thousand small farmers with the labourers attached, in the South

and West of Ireland, with whom they have nothing whatsoever in common, either in ideal or objects, or race or religion, or anything that makes up a homogeneous nation.

26. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XLVI, 395, 396. [Extract from Prime Minister Asquith's speech, Jan. 1, 1913.]

If this Amendment were carried, the whole of Ulster would be excluded. What is Ulster? . . . dividing Ulster according to its representation . . . between those who are in favour and those who are against Home Rule, the whole of the North-West, the whole of the South, the larger part of the middle—by the middle, I mean the county of Tyrone—are almost unanimously in favour of Home Rule. That is a geographical fact; there can be no dispute about it whatever. Under this Amendment the whole of Donegal, which returns a united Nationalist representation, the whole of Tyrone, of which three divisions as compared with one return a representation in favour of Home Rule, the whole of Monaghan and Cavan, part of Fermanagh, part of Armagh, and part of Down, although they have a preponderatingly Nationalist population and are represented in this House by Members in favour of Home Rule, would be excluded from the benefit of the Home Rule Bill. That cannot be disputed. . . . In point of fact . . . there are only two counties in Ulster which return a uniform Unionist representation—Londonderry and Antrim. The whole of the rest of the Ulster representation is either wholly Nationalist or divided between the Unionist and Nationalist parties. I confess that, to my mind . . . there is no argument whatsoever in

favour of excluding the province of Ulster as a whole. . . .

If you look at the population, how does the matter stand? In what I will call, for convenience and brevity, Unionist Ulster—that is, the part represented in this House by Unionist Members—the population is, roughly speaking, 690,000 Protestants, 270,000 Roman Catholics. On the other hand, if you look at Home Rule Ulster, that part which is represented here by Nationalists or Members in favour of Home Rule, the Roman Catholics there are 436,000, and Protestants 194,000. If you take the province of Ulster as a whole, roughly speaking . . . there are in it, nine Protestants to seven Catholics. . . . How is it possible, in the face of figures such as these, for anyone who accepts the principle of this Bill, to justify the exclusion of the whole province of Ulster from the operation of the Bill?

27 *House of Commons Debates* (5s) XLVI, 404, 406. [Extract from Mr. John Redmond's speech, Jan. 1, 1913.]

Let me just go through the figures in another way. In Antrim the Catholics form 20.5 per cent. of the whole population; in Armagh the percentage is 81.5 of the whole population, and in Donegal 78.9. In Down it is 31.6, and in Fermanagh 56.2; while in Derry county and city together it is 45.8. In Monaghan the percentage is 74.7, and in Tyrone 55.4. That is five out of the nine counties included in the province of Ulster which are to be excluded from Home Rule, although they have overwhelming Catholic majorities at this moment. Taking the whole province, the Catholics are 43.7 of the whole population. As the

Prime Minister has pointed out, of the Parliamentary representation of the province of Ulster sixteen are Nationalists and seventeen Unionists. How are these Nationalists elected? Why there are great portions of Ulster where the Nationalists when the elections take place are returned by majorities of thousands, and there are some constituencies so thoroughly Nationalist that there never has been a contested election since the general extension of the franchise in 1885. Only the other day we held a majority of the seats in Ulster, and so we might to-morrow. Therefore I say that no case has been made out with regard to a homogeneous population for separate treatment. The claim put forward in this Amendment will not stand examination. . . . Ireland for us is one entity. It is one land. Tyrone and Tyrconnell are as much a part of Ireland as Munster or Connaught. Some of the most glorious chapters connected with our national struggle have been associated with Ulster. . . .

[Sir Edward Carson's amendment was defeated by a Vote of 294 to 197.]

28. *The Times* (London), Jan. 24, 1913.

The Home Rule Bill was on Thursday last week read a third time in the House of Commons after a final debate which was compressed . . . into two days. In all 52 days have now been spent on the Bill. The House, it need hardly be said, was full . . . and towards the end of the evening there was not one vacant place. . . .

As the numbers of the division were announced there were demonstrations such as the House sees only on great occasions, members standing on benches, wav-

ing hats and papers and handkerchiefs, discordant cries, and finally uproarious cheering of Ministers as they left the scene of their long labours. . . .

29. *The Times* (London), Jan. 24, 1913.

The Bill passed on immediately to the House of Lords, where the sitting had been suspended earlier in the evening. The House reassembled shortly before 11 o'clock, and the quietness of a formal first reading presented a striking contrast to the scenes a few minutes before in the House of Commons. There were only five members of the House present . . . but a small group of members of the House of Commons and Sir Courtenay Ilbert (Clerk of the House of Commons), who had brought the Bill from the other House, stood at the Bar.

The Clerk of the Parliaments (Sir Henry Graham) after receiving the Bill, formally announced that the House of Commons had passed the Government of Ireland Bill; and, on the motion of Lord Colebrooke, the Bill was read the first time.

30. *The Times* (London), Feb. 7, 1913.

On Thursday last week after four days' debate, the House of Lords threw out the Government of Ireland Bill by 326 votes to 69.

31. *Daily News* (London) quoted in *Literary Digest*, Feb. 22, 1913.

The Lords' debates on the first and second Home Rule Bills were events in the history of Great Britain and of Ireland. The Lords' debates on the third Home Rule Bill are merely an event in the history of the

House of Lords. So far as Home Rule is concerned yesterday's vote of rejection does no more than impose a brief delay, but it quickens the national resolution to remove from its path the stumbling-block of a second chamber constituted and empowered as the present House of Lords is. To Lord Selborne this statement of a simple truth seems harsh and malignant; but . . . Liberals have never suggested that the Parliament Act was their last word on the second chamber. It could be that only on one condition: that the Lords proved themselves fit to exercise the tremendous powers which the act left them. They have hastened to seize the first opportunity of demonstrating their unfitness, and that they retain uncorrected and unmitigated by national chastisement all their ancient vices of passion, prejudice, and unreason. The canker persists and the surgeon must again be called in.

32. *The Times* (London), May 30, 1913.

The House of Commons reassembled on Tuesday, and attention is already concentrated in political circles on Mr. Asquith's proposed procedure for passing the Irish Home Rule . . . a second time under the Parliament Act. Mr. Bonar Law has already, with characteristic bluntness, described it as a farce, and any discussion that may be allowed to take place as a "meaningless formality." Mr. Asquith who is certainly businesslike, if perhaps a little hard and dry, in his methods, has announced that, as the Irish Home Rule Bill cannot now be amended if it is to obtain the benefit of the Parliament Act, a second Committe stage is not required, or need only be formal. A Bill passed a second time by the House of Commons and sent up

to the Lords must be "identical" with the one previously rejected in the Upper House.

[On July 7, 1913, the Home Rule Bill was passed by the House of Commons for the second time, and again sent up to the House of Lords.]

33. *House of Lords Debates* (5s) XIV, 881. [July 14, 1913.]

The Marquess of Lansdowne rose to move the following Amendment—

That the House declines to proceed with the consideration of the Bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country.

[This Amendment was adopted, and the Home Rule Bill was rejected for the second time by the House of Lords.]

Part V. The Drift toward Civil War in Ireland

[During the years 1913–1914 the earlier-organized Ulster Volunteers developed into a thoroughly-disciplined, well-equipped military force, pledged to prevent the application of the Irish Home Rule Bill to Ulster.]

34. *The Times* (London), March 28, 1913.

Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P., speaking at a Unionist Club meeting at Antrim on Tuesday, said that he sometimes asked himself if the time was not at hand when all the money which they proposed to spend on educational work would not be better spent on rifles. . . . As an argument, 10,000 pounds spent in rifles would be a thousand times stronger than the same amount spent in meetings, speeches, and pamphlets.

They were, however, under a debt of honour to do everything in their power to persuade the electors of Great Britain by fair argument and by educational methods, of the righteousness of their cause before they took upon themselves the tremendous responsibility of armed resistance. . . . But in the meantime let every Irish Unionist enrol himself in the Volunteer Force and perfect himself in drill. Although he himself was not in the secrets of the committee in charge of the arrangements for defence, he predicted with confidence that in due time they would be given weap-

ons which would at once convert them from a well-organized civilian force into a formidable fighting force.

35. *The Times* (London), July 18, 1913.

The Twelfth of July was celebrated in Ulster on Saturday with great fervour. The principal demonstration was held in Belfast, where the procession . . . was the largest ever held and took nearly 2½ hours to pass a given point. At the head of the procession was a carriage containing Sir Edward Carson . . . and an enthusiastic crowd lined the route of three miles from the city to Craigavon, where the meeting was held. . . .

Sir Edward Carson, who had a great reception, said in the course of his speech Mr. Bonar Law gave him this message, that, so far as he was concerned and speaking on the part of the whole Unionist Party, in the present circumstances, whatever steps they might feel compelled to take, whether they were constitutional or whether in the long run they were unconstitutional, they had the whole of the Unionist Party under his leadership behind them. (Cheers.)

Referring to Mr. Birrell's [Chief Secretary for Ireland] statement that it was not the intention of the Government to employ the forces of the Crown against the people of Ulster, Sir Edward said the Prime Minister assented to the proposition, so they "were getting on." (Laughter.) They now knew that the forces of the Crown were not to be used against them. (Cheers.) That was a wise decision. (Cheers.) They did not want to get into collision with the forces of the Crown. The soldiers were men of whom they

were proud. . . . The Government knew perfectly well that they could not rely to-morrow on the Army to shoot down the loyalists of Ulster. (Loud Cheers.) A day never passed on which he did not get, at a really low average, half a dozen letters from British officers asking to be enrolled. (Renewed cheering.)

36. *Standard* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* Oct. 25, 1913.

It is of little profit to exclaim weakly against the wickedness of Ulster and the unreason of the whole business. . . . The important thing is to recognize that the facts, however unwelcome, are facts; that this passionate resolve of a whole people never to submit to what they regard as an unjustifiable invasion of inalienable rights is bound, if unheeded, to lead to trouble of the gravest kind. It is beside the question to discuss whether Sir George Richardson's volunteers will be able to face Regular troops, whether the Regular troops will consent to face them, or whether British officers will strike against orders to suppress an Ulster rebellion. Nobody knows. But everybody does know that persistence in a policy of drift can only mean disaster for Ireland and Great Britain too, and possibly for the Empire itself.

37. *The Times* (London), Oct. 31, 1913.

Mr. Asquith addressed on Saturday evening a meeting of delegates of the East Fife Liberal Association at Ladybank. The speech had been awaited with unusual interest owing to the situation in Ulster, and it was to Home Rule that Mr. Asquith devoted practically all his attention. . . .

It will be as well to state at once the four main

heads of the Prime Minister's argument. They were these:—

(1) There is a complete constitutional case for proceeding in the next Session of Parliament with the Irish Government Bill by applying to it the operation of the Parliament Act.

(2) If a Statute deliberately enacted by Parliament were to be met by organized and armed resistance, it would clearly be not only the right, but the duty, of the Executive to assert the authority of the law by every appropriate and adequate measure.

(3) The proposals which have been put forward in perfect good faith, and, I doubt not, with perfect good will, for something in the nature of a formal conference between party leaders do not appear to me to be practically helpful. If, however, there is a general disposition in all quarters, by an interchange of views and suggestions, free, frank, and without prejudice, to contribute to a common stock, I invite the interchange.

(4) There is no scheme for the adjustment of the position of the minority in Ireland, subject to certain simple and governing considerations, which I am not prepared to consider with a perfectly open mind.

These governing considerations are:—

(a) Nothing is to be done that will interfere with the setting up of a subordinate Irish Legislature with an Executive responsible to it.

(b) Nothing is to be done which will erect a permanent or an insuperable bar in the way of Irish unity.

(c) While the importance of the extension of the principle of Devolution in appropriate forms to other parts of the United Kingdom is fully recognized, the

claim of Ireland is prior in point of urgency, and must be dealt with first.

38. *The Times* (London), Nov. 7, 1913.

Mr. Balfour [former Unionist prime minister] addressed at Aberdeen on Monday Night the first of a series of meetings arranged to be held this week in the North of Scotland in furtherance of the appeal of Ulster against the Home Rule Bill. . . . The meeting was held in the Music-hall, where an audience of 3,000 persons had gathered.

Mr. Balfour, who was received with great enthusiasm, emphasized at the outset the gravity of the situation in Ulster. . . . The country, he said, might in the next few months find itself in an appalling position—unless real statesmanship and courage were brought to the task of saving it from one of the greatest catastrophes which, in his judgment, had for many generations threatened these islands.

. . . Insisting on the unique character of the resistance movement in Ulster, Mr. Balfour warned his hearers against the idea that they were watching an ordinary political fight. It was, he said, a wholly different phenomenon, and unless the public understood that, they understood nothing about the situation. . . . Mr. Balfour protested against the idea of trying "to make the North agree with the South better by putting them in a room and locking the door and letting them fight it out." . . . His own solution of the problem was that to which Bonar Law pointed at Wallsend. Let the Government, he said, ask the people what they really want. . . . He denied that at the last election the democracy had adequate notice of the

policy the Government intended to pursue. . . . If the people were not consulted the Unionists would hold that an immoral revolution in the Constitution had been carried out by immoral means. A large verdict in favour of Home Rule would be far better for every one concerned than an attempt to force upon Ulster an abominable system when no one knew whether in that action the Government really represented the country or not.

39. *Freemen's Journal* (Dublin), quoted in *Literary Digest*, Oct. 4, 1913.

Home Rule by consent would be Home Rule rendered a hundredfold more welcome to the heart of Nationalist Ireland, but the Ulster leaders have declared again and again that they will never agree to settlement—that with or without a general election or a conference Ireland shall not have Home Rule.

40. *Daily Mail* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest*, Nov. 29, 1913.

In such a crisis there is only one course, that indicated by Mr. Balfour in his fine speech at Aberdeen. . . . It is to put the issue to the test at a general election. If the Government contemplates forcibly driving a loyal and contented community (in Ulster) out of the Kingdom, it must at least have the consent of the British people.

41. *Westminster Gazette* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest*, Nov. 29, 1913.

When a question has reached this stage it has got past the point at which an appeal can properly be made

to the public on any broad and simple principle, and got to the point at which it must be settled by statesmen. That we believe to be the prevalent view in the country at the present moment. . . .

42. *The Times* (London), Dec. 5, 1913.

The Ulster Provisional Government is proceeding rapidly with the organization of its various departments, and the committee appointed by the Central Authority have all the arrangements well advanced for taking over the government of Ulster in the event of the Home Rule in its present form becoming law. A meeting of motor-car owners will be held at the Provisional Government headquarters, Old Town Hall, Belfast, on Friday to make arrangements for organizing a motor-car service to be placed at the disposal of the Provisional Government if required.

43. *The Times* (London), Dec. 5, 1913.

Colonel Hickman, M.P., addressing a meeting at Coseley, near Wolverhampton, on Saturday night, said he had that day interviewed 26 officers in London who were willing to fight for Ulster. They did not ask for pay, but were willing to go because their hearts were with the people of Ulster. Those responsible for the movement were working to get 90,000 volunteers efficient when the day for action arrived.

Colonel Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen, M.P., speaking at Dudley on Saturday, said that for some years he had commanded a battalion of the Special Reserve. If he were called upon to send out drafts of recruits to reinforce the active battalion against Ulster he would not do it unless the electors had first decided in favour of Home Rule. If, in the absence of a General Elec-

tion, a single soldier was sent over to shoot down Ulstermen, he would at once resign his commission and would go and offer his services, for what they were worth, to the Ulster Volunteers.

44. *The Times* (London), Dec. 12, 1913.

The Government have taken action respecting the arming of Ulster. Last Friday's *Gazette* published two proclamations signed by the King at the Council held at Sandringham on the previous day. The first proclamation forbids the importation into Ireland of arms and ammunition, except such as are intended solely for sporting, mining, or any other unwarlike purpose. The second proclamation prohibits the carriage coastwise of military arms and ammunition.

45. *Morning Post* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* Dec. 27, 1913.

Every Unionist will hope that the struggle may be kept within the limits of constitutional resistance. But all are determined that if the emergency requires it they will not shrink from supporting any steps required to assist the Irish loyalists to preserve their rights and liberties. . . . Unionists believe that the crisis provoked by the fatal policy of the Government is of such a character that the people of Ulster are justified in resorting to armed force in defense of their rights, and also that those in England who hold their cause to be just must be prepared to support them to the utmost extremity.

46. *The Times* (London), March 6, 1914.

We have received a letter from a number of dis-

tinguished and representative men warning the country of the certainty of civil war if the policy of coercing Ulster is persisted in by the Government.

These men, headed by representatives of the Army and Navy, Lord Roberts and Sir Edward Seymour, appeal to their fellow-countrymen to join in a solemn declaration that, if the Home Rule Bill is passed into law without being submitted to the judgment of the nation, they will feel justified in trying to prevent it being put into operation, and particularly in endeavouring to prevent the use of troops against the Ulster Unionists.

47. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LIX, 906, 907, 910–916. [Extracts from Prime Minister Asquith's speech, March 9, 1914.]

a

What are the dangers which lie ahead, and which, in my opinion, at any rate, it is the duty of statesmanship, if it be possible, to avert? On the one hand, if Home Rule as embodied in this Bill is carried now, there is, I regret to say it, . . . in Ulster the prospect of acute dissension and even of Civil strife. On the other hand, if at this stage Home Rule were to be shipwrecked, or permanently mutilated, or indefinitely postponed, there is in Ireland, as a whole, at least an equally formidable outlook. The hazards in either event are such as to warrant in all quarters, I think, not indeed a surrender of principles, but any practical form of accommodation and approach which would lead to an agreed settlement. It is obvious—it is no use blinking the facts—that such a settlement must involve, in the first place, on the side of our opponents the acceptance of a

Home Rule Legislature and Executive in Dublin, and on the other hand, on the side of our supporters, some form of Special treatment for the Ulster Minority over and above any of the safeguards which are contained in this Bill. [906, 907]

b

With that preface, let me now come to describe to the House, the various ways in which we—and when I say "we," I am speaking for my colleagues as well as for myself—try to meet them [the difficulties]. By far the most serious of them, of course, is that which is presented by what is compendiously and conveniently called the question of Ulster. I have tried, and my colleagues have tried, honestly and seriously, to meet that difficulty by three different roads. In the first place . . . we tried the road which goes by a name I think first invented by my right hon. Friend (Sir E. Grey)—what is called "Home Rule within Home Rule." . . . It was of the essence of my proposal . . . that as regards administration, Ulster . . . should be, until the Imperial Parliament otherwise decided, entirely exempt from the executive and administrative authority of the Irish Parliament in Dublin.

. . . Then, as regards legislation, my proposal was this . . . that Ulster should return, like all the rest of Ireland, representatives to both the Upper and the Lower Houses of the Irish Legislature, but that when any law was passed by those two Houses to which in respect of its application to Ulster the majority of the representatives of Ulster were opposed, it should not come into force *quoad* Ulster, if they protested, until

it received the sanction of the Imperial Parliament. . . . I am not going to press that suggestion upon the House. I part from it myself with regret and with reluctance, but it has one drawback, and a very serious drawback. It does not commend itself to any of the parties concerned. [909–911]

c

The second was this, a suggestion that the whole of Ireland should be, in the first instance, included, both for legislative and executive purposes, in the Bill as it stands, but that an option should be given, after the lapse of a certain time, for the Ulster counties . . . to remove themselves from the jurisdiction of the Irish Legislature and Executive, and to revert to the position in which they at present stand. . . . I think there is a great deal to be said for that plan. Then, again, I must add that it would be an excellent thing if it could be made acceptable, to those whom it is proposed to include, but I am afraid it cannot—or cannot, at any rate, for the moment—and compulsory inclusion at the outset, even with the option of exclusion as time goes on, has, of course, all the drawbacks and all the dangers incident to any scheme that has to be coercively enforced. Therefore, I am afraid it cannot be regarded as giving a practical answer to the demand for an agreed road to settlement. [911, 912]

d

We had to explore in detail the third road, which goes popularly by the name of "exclusion." . . . Exclusion in any form must be put forward, and can only

be put forward, not as a solution, but as an expedient which may pave the way in time for a final settlement.

When you have come to that opinion—although, as I have said candidly to the House, I should have preferred either of the other roads if it could have led to agreement—the practical question which presents itself is how far exclusion, in any shape or form, can be adopted without doing violence to the principles which are seriously believed in and maintained, both upon one side and upon the other. We have come to the conclusion that the best, and, indeed, the only practical way is to allow the Ulster counties themselves to determine, in the first instance, whether or not they desire to be excluded. . . . Any county in the province of Ulster is to be excluded for a certain period, if on a poll being taken of the Parliamentary electors in the county before the Bill comes into operation, a majority—a bare majority—vote in favour of exclusion. The poll will be taken in a county if a requisition is presented signed by, say, one-tenth of the electors, and presented, say, within three months of the date of the passing of the Bill. The poll will be taken for the county as a whole, without regard to its Parliamentary Division. The persons entitled to vote are those entitled to vote at Parliamentary elections, and the question to be put will be this. . . . "Are you in favour of the exclusion of the county from the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, for a period"—I will say something about the length of the period presently—"of years, or are you against it?" . . . If on the poll a majority in any county vote in favour of exclusion, the county would be automatically excluded for the prescribed period of years. [912, 913]

e

Then arises the question what ought to be the term of exclusion for a county, if it pleases to vote for its own exclusion. We have, after much consideration, thought it ought to be a term of . . . six years from the first meeting of the Irish Legislature in Dublin. . . .

The House will see . . . that before inclusion becomes operative there must be two General Elections in this country, one in 1915 and another in 1920. And before the second of those General Elections takes place, the electorate of this country and of Ireland will have had between five and six years' actual experience of the working of the Irish Parliament and of the Irish Executive. We believe that that is a fair and equitable arrangement. It gives to those counties, it gives to the whole of Ulster, in the first instance, the option to say whether they will come within the Bill, and if they vote for exclusion they cannot be brought back into it unless with the assent, at a General Election, of a majority of the electorate of the whole of the United Kingdom.

. . . They would come in at the end of the six years unless the Imperial Parliament otherwise decides. [914–916]

48. *The Times* (London), March 13, 1914.

DUBLIN, March 10.

While it is desirable that the Government's proposals should get a fair hearing in Ireland, the fact must be faced that their reception by all parties here has been distinctly unfavourable.

The Ulster Unionists will have nothing to say to limited exclusion. The Southern Unionists, for whom this scheme portends a deplorable fate, are bitterly opposed to it. The rank and file of Nationalism throughout the country thinks that Mr. Redmond has exceeded the extremest limits of concession, and that the Bill amended as Mr. Asquith suggests would be worthless. It disappoints the Nationalist dream of a United Ireland. It promises administrative confusions of the most formidable kind.

On the whole, then, the Government's new plan has had a most discouraging reception in Ireland, and its popularity is not likely to increase on acquaintance. There is a growing belief that the Bill is moribund, and Nationalists now admit that an early General Election has become inevitable.

49. *Northern Standard* (Monaghan), quoted in *Literary Digest,* May 2, 1914.

Ulster is determined to have this question settled now and for ever. The proposals of the Government, even if accepted, would only defer the ultimate decision of the electors for a period of six years, and with this admission of the right of the electors to settle the question, why can not the appeal be made to them now? It is the only constitutional means left to the Government, and as we have opined over and over again, the sooner it is taken the better it will be for the country. In the meantime Ulster stands firm, her cause based on a righteous foundation and upheld by men inspired by glorious traditions of loyalty and valor.

50. *Derry Standard* (Londonderry), quoted in *Literary Digest*, May 2, 1914.

The Premier's proposals for a settlement of the Home Rule problem . . . have been brought forward, not as an honest attempt to reach an agreement, but in the hope that they may rehabilitate the Government in the eyes of the electors of Great Britain.

The Government have found themselves in a morass of difficulties. They made their bargain with Mr. Redmond for the votes necessary to keep them in office, and now when payment has become due they clearly foresee that they can not discharge the debt without leading the country to "death, disaster, and damnation." They have become thoroughly alive to the fact that the existence of the Ulster Volunteers has made the enforcement of Home Rule on the northern province impossible.

[On March 19, 1914 plans were set in motion for a "purely precautionary" military advance on Ulster, and an order was sent out from the War Office requiring the officers at the Curragh Camp to state whether they were willing to go on active service in that province. In the event of unwillingness, they were required to send in their resignations. Headed by Brigadier-General Gough, commander of the Third Cavalry Brigade, about one hundred officers tendered their resignations. They later rejoined their units, however, upon receiving written assurance that the troops under their command would not be called upon to coerce the people of Ulster.]

51. *Morning Post* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* May 16, 1914.

We repeat that the Government rests under a most serious charge. They are accused of intending to use the forces of the Crown to provoke a conflict with the people of Ulster, and then to crush their organized resistance to the Home Rule Bill before that measure became law. They had actually appointed a military officer to supersede the civil magistracy of Belfast. He was to take over charge of the police, and it is clear that the capital of Ulster was to be placed under martial law. All this, remember, not only before the Home Rule Bill was on the statute-book, but before the Government had ventured upon a single charge or a single action or a single attempt to prove the illegality of the Ulster volunteer movement.

52. *Westminster Gazette* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* May 16, 1914.

There is nothing that the Government desires less than to use force in Ulster. Civil war for the narrow issues which now divide parties would be a wicked absurdity. But in the present case we see armed force used as a factor in home politics, precisely as diplomatists use it in foreign affairs—used, that is to say, to put pressure on the Government and to compel it to yield what it would not yield to argument. There is no end to this method when it is once conceded. It may be used by Irish Nationalists as well as by Irish Unionists, by labor or by capital. It reduces Parliament to absurdity, leads back to private war and confused struggles between factions for the possession of the military power. The question once raised can not be

shelved or evaded and, until we have got right about it, will overshadow all politics.

53. *Literary Digest,* May 16, 1914.

The most powerful Liberal organ in the north of England, the Manchester *Guardian* . . . supports Mr. Asquith's plea that the military and naval forces were sent to Ireland merely as a precautionary measure for keeping the peace and guarding military stores, and we read:—

"That the Government's preparedness, even for contingencies which it thought improbable, should be made a ground of reproach against it is due entirely to a confusion of thought, genuine or malicious, between preparedness against a calamity and desire to bring it about. Is not the naval and military policy of all Europe based on the distinction which the Opposition persist in ignoring? We are always being told by the Opposition that large armies and navies are the best guaranties of peace. Why should they be merely provocative in Ulster?"

54. *Daily News* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* April 4, 1914.

The country is faced with the gravest issue that has arisen in our time. It is whether we are to be governed by Parliament or by the Army. The power of the House of Lords is gone, and it is now the Army to which the Tories look to keep the democracy in check and the aristocracy in power. It is this monstrous assumption with which the Government will now have to deal. The country will look to them to deal with it in

a spirit worthy of a great people who are proud of its free institutions and popular liberties.

For two years the Government have exercised patience and restraint in the presence of treason. That restraint must cease if any fragment of our liberties is to remain. It is no longer a question of Home Rule for Ireland, but a question of whether we are to govern ourselves or are to be governed by Brigadier-General Gough. Although every officer in the Army be dismissed, we will have no mailed hand raised against our Parliament. If the Army is to be a Tory institution to coerce the House of Commons when the Liberals are in power, then we will break the Army as we have broken the Lords and make the Army as democratic as we have made Parliament.

'55. *The Times* (London), May 1, 1914.

The Ulster volunteers carried out with complete success during Friday night [April 24] and in the early hours of Saturday morning last a skilfully-planned scheme for the landing of guns and ammunition from the steamer Fanny, disguised as the "Mountjoy."

Although the authorities at Belfast suspected that there would be an attempt at gun-running, the police and Customs officials there and elsewhere were entirely outwitted by the Volunteers. . . . According to our Belfast Correspondent from 35,000 to 40,000 rifles and 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition were safely landed at Larne, Bangor, and Donaghadee, and distributed over various parts of Ulster without interference.

56. *The Times* (London), May 15, 1914.

The following petition to the King from the Irish Unionist Alliance has been forwarded to the Home Secretary for presentation to his Majesty:—

We, the undersigned, on behalf of a vast body of Irishmen of all creeds and classes, your Majesty's devoted subjects, in the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, crave leave humbly to approach the Throne and to represent to your Most Gracious Majesty that widespread and well-grounded alarm prevails among your Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland owing to the imminent danger of the outbreak of civil war, with all its attendant horrors, should the present Government of Ireland Bill be passed into law without being submitted to the electorate of the United Kingdom.

Your petitioners have been deeply moved by the words in the gracious Speech from the Throne in which your Majesty expressed your most earnest wish that the good will and co-operation of men of all parties and creeds might heal dissension and lay the foundation of a lasting settlement in Ireland. Your petitioners most humbly represent to your Majesty that the idea of severance from the existing Constitution is abhorrent not only to the people of Ulster but to the great numbers in the southern provinces for whom we speak, and we are convinced that the present Bill, if forced upon us, can never prove the foundation of such a settlement as your Majesty ardently desires, but that, on the contrary, it will produce a rankling sense of injustice which will create bitter animosity and entail grave difficulties for the Empire in the future.

Your petitioners, speaking with intimate knowledge of their country, have the gravest reason to apprehend that on the outbreak of civil war the lives and property of many of your Majesty's subjects dwelling in isolated portions of Ireland will be exposed to the greatest danger. Your petitioners therefore, in this time of peril and deep anxiety, most humbly pray that such steps may be taken as your Majesty in your wisdom may deem right, to ensure that this Bill, which, if enacted, will inevitably result in ruinous consequences to the nation, may be submitted to the judgment of your people.

57. *Literary Digest,* July 11, 1914. [Letter given to the press by Mr. John Redmond.]

Up to two months ago I felt that the Volunteer movement was somewhat premature, but the effect of Sir Edward Carson's threats upon public opinion in England, the House of Commons, and the Government, occurrences at the Curragh camp, and the successful gun-running in Ulster vitally altered the position, and the Irish party took steps about six weeks ago to inform their friends and supporters in the country that in their opinion it was desirable to support the volunteer movement, with the result that within the last six weeks the movement has spread like prairie fire, and all the Nationalists of Ireland will shortly be enrolled.

58. *Daily Chronicle* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* July 11, 1914.

. . . For the past two years Nationalist Ireland had been singularly quiet and restrained. . . . All the

while drilling and arming went on in Ulster; statesmen, Privy Councilors, deputy lieutenants, and magistrates openly boasted that they were organizing a force to defy the law. The Tory press in this country published with wearisome iteration extravagant articles in laudation of the Covenanting Army, and scandalous efforts were made by the party of law and order to use this force for the purpose of overawing Parliament and defying the authority of the Crown. These examples of lawlessness in high places did not go unheeded in Ireland. And at last very quietly and with incredible swiftness the Nationalists determined that they, too, would band themselves together in a military force to preserve the new-won liberties of Ireland. Unlike Sir Edward Carson, who inspired and directed the formation of the Covenanting force, Mr. Redmond sought to check the Nationalist Volunteer movement. He failed to do so, because of the intense popular feeling that has been aroused in Ireland by the armed movement in Ulster. The Nationalist Volunteers have, so to speak, sprung from the very ground.

59. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXIII, 1032, 1033. [June 16, 1914.]

LORD ROBERT CECIL: I beg to move, "That this House do now adjourn."

I do so for the purpose of calling attention to the growing danger caused in Ireland by the existence of the Volunteer Forces, and by the failure of the Government to deal with the situation. . . . There is, in the North-East of Ireland, a very large force, we are told, of some 110,000 men. . . . They have also a certain amount of ammunition . . . and they are

drilled. I understand that they are a force which military authorities regard as of a very formidable character. Their object is to resist the passage of the Home Rule Bill—at any rate, so far as it creates subordination for Ulster to a Dublin Parliament. In my opinion, that is in itself a very serious state of things, and a grave reproach to civilisation and upon the Government of the country; but the situation has been, in my judgment, enormously aggravated and increased by the growth in other parts of Ireland of another Volunteer Force. I understand, from answers given by the Chief Secretary, that there is in the other parts of Ireland a force already . . . of eighty or a hundred thousand men . . . and that it is increasing at the rate, so he told us, of 15,000 per week.

60. *Morning Post* (London), quoted in *Literary Digest,* July 11, 1914.

. . . Ireland is divided into armed and hostile camps, and at any moment some incident may give the signal for civil war between forces whose political enmity would be embittered by the fierce passions of racial and religious animosity. To such a pass have things come that it is difficult to see how there can be any road out of the entanglement which will not be stained with blood. Even Liberals have now ceased to talk of Ulster bluff. They know that any attempt to drive the Irish Loyalists under the heel of a Nationalist Parliament must lead to bloodshed on a scale that would appal even the most bellicose of their professional pacifists. On the other hand, if the Government fail to grant Home Rule, or consent to the exclusion of Ulster, the Nationalist Volunteers threaten to take the field. From a military point of view their resistance

might not prove very formidable. They lack the leadership, the discipline, the organization, and the equipment, and, above all, the determined spirit of the Ulstermen. But they could vent their wrath on the scattered minority in the Southern and Western provinces, and any one who remembers the horrible outrages that marked the land war in the eighties will not expect Nationalists, raging at the failure of their hopes and maddened by racial and religious fanaticism, to show much mercy to their helpless foes. And if vengeance is wreaked on the Loyalists in Nationalist Ireland, there is certain to be a savage war of reprisals in the North. Thus there seems a very fair prospect that the fruits of Liberal policy will be bloodshed, sorrow, and suffering in every part of the country, and that Ireland will be cursed for a generation with a legacy of bitter memories and hatreds which will divide her people more effectually than if the two sections were placed on opposite sides of the Irish Sea.

THE SOURCES

Part VI. The Enactment and Suspension of the Third Home Rule Bill

61. *The Times* (London), May 29, 1914.

The Home Rule Bill passed its final stage in the House of Commons on Monday and was given a first reading in the Lords. Both Houses have adjourned for the Whitsuntide Recess. The natural dividing line of this momentous Session has been reached. The first scene of the last act of the Irish drama is ended. A short interval, and the second and sterner scene will be begun "in another place."

62. *The Times* (London), May 29, 1914.

In a statement on Monday night to a representative of the *Freeman's Journal,* Mr. Redmond said:—

The Union as we have known it is dead. That much at any rate is beyond doubt or question after to-day's division. There are only two eventualities, and both of them are impossible, which could possibly prevent the Home Rule Bill actually becoming a statute in a few weeks' time. The first is that the present Session of Parliament should come to an abrupt end before one month from this date—an utterly unthinkable proposition; and the other is that the House of Commons should suddenly go mad and pass a resolution to the effect that the Bill should not be presented for

the Royal Assent. In the absence of these two absurd contingencies, the Bill must automatically become law.

63. *House of Lords Debates* (5s) XVI, 379, 385–387. [Extract from the Marquess of Crewe's speech, June 23, 1914.]

. . . I am going to ask your Lordships to give a First Reading to the Government of Ireland (Amendment) Bill, . . .

The effect of this Bill . . . is . . . that the Government of Ireland Act of 1914 does not apply in any respect to the excluded areas, . . . The civil government of the excluded area is to be exercised by the Lord-Lieutenant through such officers and departments as His Majesty may by Order in Council direct. . . . A Minister of the Crown will be told off to deal with Irish business in this country so far as Irish business under the Government of Ireland Bill has to be dealt with here, and he would no doubt be the person held responsible to Parliament for the proper government of the excluded area. No change is suggested in the number of the nominated senators for the Irish Parliament but the term of the first set of senators is made six years instead of five, as is provided under the Government of Ireland Bill. From the excluded area no members go to the Irish House of Commons, but every Constituency in the excluded area will return a representative to the House of Commons, possibly not altogether to the disadvantage of the Party of Noble Lords opposite. . . .

The title of the Bill is "to amend the Government of Ireland Bill," and it will be seen that the effect of giving it that title is to afford the widest possible lati-

tude for Amendments to the Bill. . . . I can assure your Lordships that any Amendments that are moved from the Benches opposite will receive the most careful and respectful consideration from us, with a view to their further discussion in another place in circumstances which are necessarily somewhat different.

64. *The Times* (London), June 26, 1914.

Though the general purport of the Amending Bill was already known, its introduction in the House of Lords on Tuesday must be regarded with profound disappointment. The Government have had their last chance of preventing civil war by their own exertions, and they have thrown it away. . . . Lord Crewe's task was a sorry and humiliating one, and he seems to have been fully conscious of his unhappy position. He had promised last week to put before the House of Lords a series of proposals which he hoped would represent "something in the nature of an agreement between the different parties." He was only able to present a Bill embodying the "suggestions" of the Prime Minister on March 9, and he was well aware that those "suggestions" had already been specifically and emphatically rejected as soon as they were made. All he was able to say in defence of a totally inadequate measure was that it "gave the widest possible latitude for amendment." Was ever the abdication of authority by a responsible Ministry more complete?

65. *House of Lords Debates* (5s) XVI, 542. [Extract from the Marquess of Lansdowne's speech, July 1, 1914.]

. . . We have the speech with which the noble

Marquess [of Crewe] introduced it [Amending Bill] —a very important speech, in which he told us that he and his colleagues desired to give us the widest possible latitude for Amendments, and he promised that those Amendments, if inserted, would be carefully considered in the House of Commons. Whatever we may think of the manner in which this question has been handled by His Majesty's Government, I do not think we could have brushed aside the overture made to us by the noble Marquess. We therefore propose not to resist the Second Reading of this Bill. But we shall certainly move Amendments in Committee designed to meet some at any rate, of the points upon which I have touched, but they will be directed to one main object and one main object only—that of making this Bill, which is an Exclusion Bill, into a real and adequate Exclusion Bill. We shall endeavour to make it adequate with regard to the area excluded, to the duration of the exclusion, and to the conditions of government accorded to the excluded area.

66. *The Times* (London), July 3, 1914.

The second reading of the Amending Bill was begun on Wednesday under very grave conditions. The tension in Ireland is rapidly increasing. The position is so strained, not only in Ulster but throughout the country, that any moment may produce incidents leading inevitably to an explosion. The duty of the Opposition in the House of Lords at this moment is a duty which rises above mere party considerations. It is to do their best to prevent civil war. The whole of Ireland, as Lord Lansdowne said, has become one vast camp. If the Lords can guide the rival forces along a path-

way which will enable them to settle their differences peacefully, they need not concern themselves too closely about the logic of their actions. It is agreed upon all hands that the Amending Bill in its present form will not produce peace. The amendments which Lord Lansdowne indicated may, if they are carried through both Houses, achieve that result. . . . In the meantime it is enough to know that the Amending Bill will be sent back to the House of Commons in a form which we hope both the Covenanters and the Nationalists will be prepared to accept.

Report says that the conciliatory tone of Lord Lansdowne's speech made an excellent impression, and that there is now a manifest tendency in Parliament to regard the outlook as somewhat less gloomy. We should be inclined to say that, until brighter gleams are visible in Ireland as well as at Westminster, optimism is still a little premature. . . .

The greatest danger now is that an explosion of some sort may come in Ireland before the fate of the Amending Bill is decided by Parliament. Tempers are rising on both sides. The long strain of acute differences is telling upon tense nerves. We continue to contemplate the position in Ireland with the most profound apprehension and no words of ours could exaggerate its essential gravity.

67. *The Times* (London), July 3, 1914.

BELFAST, July 1.

. . . The following is the official text of the order, which was dispatched this morning to all parts of the province by special riders on motor cycles:—

It has been decided that at the discretion of the Commanding Officers the time has come when arms may be carried openly by members of the Ulster Volunteer Force, and that any attempt to seize arms from individuals who may be carrying them in accordance with these instructions is to be resisted in accordance with former instructions issued on this subject.

68. *The Times* (London), July 10, 1914.

BELFAST, July 5.

The first open display of armed force which has occurred since the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force took place in Belfast streets yesterday afternoon. The West and South Belfast Regiments, to the number of about 2,000, took part. The former marched, in the first instance, to a stable, in the loft of which the rifles, part of the cargo of the Mountjoy, were secreted. Two men climbed into the loft and threw open the upper doors, while the Volunteers filed into the small cobbled yard from the street. They came in sections and in almost complete silence. The guns, with fixed bayonets, were quickly served out and handed down to them by eager helpers. Delight and pride were upon every face when the whole detachment had been supplied.

69. *The Times* (London), July 10, 1914.

BELFAST, July 7.

Following upon the landing of ammunition yesterday comes the report late to-night that 40 Colt ma-

chine guns with ammunition have been brought to Belfast.

The guns are of the latest pattern. I am informed that they were purchased in England some two months ago at a cost of about £100 each.

It is stated that the guns were landed at a point in the neighbourhood of Annalong, on the coast of County Down.

70. *The Times* (London), July 17, 1914.

The work of recasting the Amending Bill in the hope of avoiding civil strife in Ireland was completed by the House of Lords on Thursday last week. By the amendments made on Wednesday the Province of Ulster had been taken bodily out of the legislative and administrative grip of the Parliament to be set up in Dublin. On Thursday, by the acceptance of Lord Halsbury's amendment to Clause 5, not Ulster Unionists only, but their comrades in the south and west of Ireland also, were removed from the jurisdiction of the judicial nominees of the Irish Parliament. . . .

A further inroad was made upon the powers of the Irish Parliament by the adoption of Lord Donnell's proposal to withdraw the administration of the Land Purchase Acts from their Control. . . .

Lord Kenmore moved, and the House approved, the repeal of the provisions for the transfer to the Irish Government of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Finally, at a late hour, on the motion of Lord Selborne, a new clause was adopted providing that nothing in the Home Rule Bill or the Amending Bill should affect "the powers, rights, privileges, or immunities" of any person in Ulster.

71. *The Times* (London), July 17, 1914.

The Amending Bill was passed by the Lords and sent to the Commons on Tuesday.

After a somewhat confused debate, of which the outstanding feature was the recognition by both parties of the gravity of the crisis, Lord Beauchamp announced that the Government would do their best to facilitate the calling together of a conference, if any general desire were expressed for one from all quarters in the controversy. Lord Lansdowne, while pointing out that he and his friends could not accept any substitute for their amendments, expressed a general belief that it was towards a conference that they must look for anything like a lasting settlement of the Irish difficulty.

72. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXV, 69.

[Prime Minister Asquith, July 20, 1914.]

I am authorised by the King to announce to the House that in view of the grave situation which has arisen he has thought it right to summon representatives of parties, both British and Irish, to a Conference at Buckingham Palace, with the object of discussing outstanding issues in relation to the problem of Irish government. Invitations have been issued by His Majesty to, and have been accepted by, two representatives of the Opposition, two representatives of the Ulster Unionist party, two representatives of the Irish Nationalist party, and two of His Majesty's Government.

73. *The Times* (London), July 24, 1914.

Before the Conference assembled the King gave an audience to the Speaker. The Conference is composed as follows:—

Chairman	The Speaker
Government	Mr. Asquith Mr. Lloyd George
Opposition	Lord Lansdowne Mr. Bonar Law
Nationalists	Mr. John Redmond Mr. Dillon
Ulster Unionists	Sir Edward Carson Captain Craig

74. *The Times* (London), July 24, 1914.

The King's Speech to the Conference on the Irish problem which assembled at Buckingham Palace on Tuesday was in the following terms:—

Gentlemen,

It is with feelings of satisfaction and hopefulness that I receive you here to-day, and I thank you for the manner in which you have responded to my summons. It is also a matter of congratulation that the Speaker has consented to preside over your meetings.

My intervention at this moment may be regarded as a new departure. But the exceptional circumstances under which you are brought together justify my action.

For months we have watched with deep misgivings the course of events in Ireland. The trend has been surely and steadily towards an appeal to force, and

to-day the cry of Civil War is on the lips of the most responsible and sober-minded of my people.

We have in the past endeavoured to act as a civilising example to the world, and to me it is unthinkable, as it must be to you, that we should be brought to the brink of fraticidal strife upon issues apparently so capable of adjustment as those you are now asked to consider, if handled in a spirit of generous compromise.

My apprehension in contemplating such a dire calamity is intensified by my feelings of attachment to Ireland and of sympathy with her people, who have always welcomed me with warm-hearted affection.

Gentlemen, you represent in one form or another the vast majority of my subjects at home. You also have a deep interest in my Dominions oversea, who are scarcely less concerned in a prompt and friendly settlement of this question.

I regard you then in this matter as trustees for the honour and peace of all.

Your responsibilities are indeed great. The time is short. You will, I know, employ it to the fullest advantage and be patient, earnest and conciliatory, in view of the magnitude of the interests at stake. I pray that God in His infinite wisdom may guide your deliberations so that they may result in the joy of peace and honourable settlement.

75. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXV, 897, [July 24, 1914.]

The PRIME MINISTER (Mr. Asquith): I have to inform the House that the King held four meetings, on the 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of July, respectively,

and the possibility of defining an area for exclusion from the operations of the Government of Ireland Bill was considered, and the Conference being unable to agree either in principle or in detail upon such an area, brought its meetings to a conclusion. . . .

I have further to announce . . . that in the circumstances, the Government propose to take the Government of Ireland (Amendment) Bill at an early date next week. Monday being, for various reasons inconvenient to some of those most directly concerned, I propose that we should put down the Second Reading of that Bill as the first Order on Tuesday next.

76. *The Annual Register,* 1914, 162.

It was stated that the deadlock arose over the exclusion of Fermanagh and Tyrone, and especially as to whether Tyrone, in which the Nationalist voters were slightly the more numerous, should be allowed to vote itself out by "a bare majority."

77. *The Times* (London), July 31, 1914.

A grave encounter between soldiers and civilians occurred in Dublin on Sunday [July 26]. Three persons—one of them a woman—were killed, and many more, including several soldiers, were wounded.

The incident was the sequel to a daring and successful gun-running *coup* by the National Volunteers. Some 3,000 rifles were landed from a yawl at the Hill of Howth and received by a body of several hundreds of Volunteers. A battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers and a small force of Metropolitan Police intercepted them in their march to Dublin. An attempt to disarm the Volunteers was resisted. The

troops charged with fixed bayonets, and shots were exchanged. Ultimately the Volunteers escaped with their arms.

When the troops returned to Dublin they were furiously stoned by a mob, and some of them, without orders, it is alleged, fired upon the crowd. Two men and a woman were killed.

78. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXV, 1601, 1602. [Extract from Prime Minister Asquith's speech, July 30, 1914.]

We meet to-day under conditions of gravity which are almost unparalleled in the experience of every one of us. The issues of peace and war are hanging in the balance. . . . In these circumstances it is of vital importance in the interests of the whole world that this country, which has no interests of its own directly at stake, should present a united front, and be able to speak and act with the authority of an undivided nation. If we were to proceed to-day with the first Order on the Paper [Amending Bill], we should inevitably . . . be involved in acute controversy in regard to domestic differences whose importance to ourselves no one in any quarter of the House is disposed to disparage or to belittle. I need not say more than that such a use of our time at such a moment might have injurious, and lastingly injurious, effects on the international situation. I have had the advantage of consultation with the Leader of the Opposition, who, I know, shares to the full the view which I have expressed. We therefore propose to put off for the present the consideration of the Second Reading of the Amending Bill—of course without prejudice to its

future—in the hope that by a postponement of the discussion the patriotism of all parties will contribute what lies in our power, if not to avert, at least to circumscribe, the calamities which threaten the world.

[Great Britain's entrance into the World War compelled the Government to reconsider their policy regarding Irish Home Rule in view of "the altered circumstances" in which the country found itself. Their decision was that "the only way of dealing with the situation was by some form of moratorium."]

79. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXVI, 888–890. [Extract from Prime Minister Asquith's speech, Sept. 15, 1914.]

. . . We are going to submit to the House to-day the form of moratorium which seems to us the best and most reasonable. The proposal which I understand to be put forward by those who are responsible for the leadership and conduct of the party opposite . . . is to hang up that Bill at the stage in which it at present finds itself . . . until the termination of the War. Applying the testing principle to which I think both parties assented when the suspension of our domestic controversies took place—that no one should be in a better or in a worse position in consequence of the outbreak of the War—would that be a fair and an equitable proceeding. It would mean, translated into plain English . . . that practically the whole of the controversial legislation of the present Parliament to which Session after Session we have devoted time and labour, effort and zeal, and which as we believe . . . represents the wishes and considered judgment

of the electorate of the country—it would mean that the whole of that would be put at the mercy of a chapter of accidents.

. . . Admitting, as I do, to the full, that the new state of things created by the War not only warrants but demands a period of suspension, we came to the conclusion that it was our duty to ask the House to sanction a plan under which, as would have taken place without any legislation, these Bills should pass on to the Statute Book, but at the same time no effective steps should be taken to bring them into practical operation before, as a minimum, a term of twelve months, and if at the expiration of that term the War still continues, before a date to be fixed by Order in Council, not later than the duration of the War.

. . . As an integral part of the proposals we are now laying before the House, the Government will introduce in the next Session of Parliament, during the suspensory period and before the Irish Government Bill can possibly come into operation, an Amending Bill.

80. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXVI, 904, 905. [Extract from Mr. Bonar Law's speech, Sept. 15, 1914.]

. . . The Government have treated us, I think, abominably, but we are in the middle of a great struggle—(An Hon. Member: "For small nationalities!") I said the other day at the Guildhall that until that struggle was over, so far as we were concerned, in everything connected with it there would be no party, there would only be a nation. What the Government have done will make no difference whatever in our

action in connection with everything regarding the War. We think there ought to have been a moratorium. The Government were willing to have it in everything except party politics. We think there ought to be a truce. The Government will not have it. But we shall have it in spite of them, for it takes two to make a quarrel. Till the War is over we shall, by every means in our power, help this Government because they are the Government, and because in no other way can we serve our country. I give that pledge, and I give it with the full approval of all the members of our party. Now, Sir, in regard to this Debate, I have made a protest as well as I could, and in doing that we have done with it. . . . When I have finished we shall leave the House, and we shall not return to it till this subject is ended. We throw upon the Government the whole responsibility. We leave them to do whatever they like. . . . We leave the House, not as a protest, still less as a demonstration. We leave it because in my belief to have forced us to debate this subject at all under present circumstances is indecent, and we shall take no part in that indecency.

[*At the conclusion of the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, the Unionist Members left the Chamber in a body.*]

81. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXVI, 906. [Extract from Mr. John Redmond's speech, Sept. 15, 1914.]

I have said more than once in the House that we had no desire to gain any advantage from what has taken place in connection with the War. All that we

asked was that we should not be damnified. When the War broke out . . . we had what was the practical certainty of the enactment of the Home Rule Bill. We had won a long and hard Parliamentary battle, a battle which had been carried on for a generation and more outside the walls of Parliament and which for the last few years had been carried on laboriously within the walls of Parliament, and we had won that Parliamentary battle.

It is true . . . that an Amending Bill was upon the stocks. We hoped, and no one hoped more sincerely than I did, that in that Amending Bill might be found the means of placating those fellow countrymen of ours in Ulster who were in violent opposition to the policy of Home Rule. But we knew that, Amending Bill or no Amending Bill, at the end of this Session the Home Rule Bill must, under the Parliament Act, receive the Royal Assent. . . . The idea of anyone pretending that out of a proposal of that kind we are snatching an advantage from the state of things caused by the War seems to me absolutely absurd.

82. *The Times* (London), Sept. 18, 1914.

Sir Edward Carson on Tuesday issued the following manifesto to the Loyalists of Ulster:—

By an act of unparalleled treachery and betrayal the Radical Government, at the dictation of their Nationalist Allies, have announced their intention of passing into law, without discussing the Amending Bill which they themselves introduced, the detestable Home Rule Bill, which we are pledged to resist at all costs.

They are taking advantage of the situation created by the war, which threatens the very existence of the United Kingdom and the Empire, to inflict upon us this degradation and humiliation. The Government have thought it an opportune moment when a great number of Members of Parliament are serving their country and so many of our own people have nobly responded to Lord Kitchener's appeal, and when, therefore, we could not enter upon resistance without injuring and weakening our country, to seek a party triumph without any regard to national interests. The infamy of such a proceeding will, I know, sink deeply into the heart of every loyal and patriotic man and will, I am sure, act as a stimulus to the fight to the finish which we have covenanted to carry out.

But I ask my followers in Ulster to remember that this is not the action of the nation, but of a despicable political faction, and our duty at the present moment is towards our country and the Empire. "Our country first" is and always has been our motto. We must therefore, notwithstanding this indignity, go on with our preparations to assist our country and strain every nerve to defeat its enemies. But you may rest assured that we shall not slacken for a moment our efforts to be prepared when our country is out of danger to take such action as may be necessary to carry out our Covenant to the end. I once more promise to go straight on with you in the fight, strengthened by the belief that Great Britain will never forgive the base treachery of the Government.

We will not have Home Rule—never!!

EDWARD CARSON.

83. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXVI, 920. [Sept. 15, 1914.]

Question, "That leave be given to introduce a Bill to suspend the operation of the Government of Irelant Act, 1914, and the Established Church (Wales) Act, 1914," put, and agreed to.

Bill order to be brought in by the Prime Minister, Mr. Birrell, Mr. McKenna, and the Attorney-General.

Presented accordingly; read the first time, and to be printed. [Bill 406.]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time," put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Resolved, "That this House doth immediately resolve itself into the Committee on the Bill."—[*The Prime Minister.*]

Bill accordingly considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; read the third time, and passed.

84. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXVI, 991.

Clause 1.—(*Suspension of the Operation of the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, and the Welsh Church Act, 1914.*]

(1) Notwithstanding anything in the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, no steps shall be taken to put that Act into operation, . . . until the expiration of twelve months from the date of the passing of those Acts respectively, or, if at the expiration of those twelve months the present War has not ended, until such later date (not being later than the end of the present War) as may be fixed by His Majesty by

Order in Council; and the provisions of those Acts shall have effect accordingly.

85. *House of Commons Debates* (5s) LXVI, 1017. [Sept. 18, 1914.]

Message received to attend the Lords Commissioners. The House went, and having returned,

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have to inform the House that the House has been to the House of Peers, where Commissions under the Great Seal were read giving the Royal Assent . . . to the following Acts passed under the provisions of the Parliament Act, 1911:—

1. Government of Ireland Act, 1914.
2. Welsh Church Act, 1914.

86. Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis* I, 193. [Mr. Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty in the Liberal Government during the period of the Home Rule struggle.]

It is greatly to be hoped that British political leaders will never again allow themselves to be goaded and spurred and driven by each other or by their followers into the excess of partisanship which on both sides disgraced the year 1914, and which were themselves only the culmination of . . . [a] long succession of biddings and counter-biddings for mastery. . . .

SUGGESTED EXERCISES

1. From the evidence in this study draw up a brief list of the arguments advanced in favor of Home Rule for Ireland.

2. In a similar way make a list of the arguments advanced against the granting of Home Rule.

3. From the material in Part II outline the chief features of the government provided for Ireland by the third Home Rule Bill.

4. From the material in Part IV write a detailed narrative of the course of the Home Rule struggle from April 12, 1912 to July 15, 1913, giving full footnote references.

5. From the material in Parts IV and V write an account of the steps taken by Ulster to oppose the extension of Home Rule to their district.

6. From the material in Parts V and VI write an account of the efforts and suggestions made with a view of arriving at some compromise solution of the Home Rule problem during 1913–1914.

7. From the material in Parts V and VI cite evidence to indicate that the United Kingdom was on the verge of civil war in 1914, giving full footnote references.

8. Write a brief account of the Buckingham Palace Conference of July, 1914, giving full footnote references.

9. Draw up a list of the facts cited by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond in opposition to the proposal to

exclude Ulster from the operation of the Home Rule Bill.

10. Write a brief explanation of the solution of the Home Rule problem reached in September, 1914.

QUESTIONS

1. Who was the leader of the Ulsterites in their opposition to Home Rule?

2. Why did the Ulsterites fear the extension of Home Rule to Ireland?

3. What was the relation of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to Ireland according to the Home Rule Bill?

4. What limitations were placed upon the Irish Parliament by the Home Rule Bill?

5. What provision was made in the Home Rule Bill for the protection and preservation of religious equality in Ireland?

6. How were the members of the Irish Senate and Irish House of Commons to be selected according to the Home Rule Bill?

7. What arguments were advanced in favor of the method of selecting the Senators?

8. What arguments were advanced in favor of the retention of the 42 Irish members in the British House of Commons after the grant of Home Rule to Ireland?

9. What features of the proposed Irish government were chiefly criticized by the opposition?

10. What was Mr. Asquith's argument for Home Rule from "the Imperial point of view"?

11. What alternative to Home Rule did the Ulsterites advocate?

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12. What did Viscount Castlereagh mean by saying that the Home Rule Bill was "a retrograde step"?

13. What did Viscount Castlereagh mean by saying that the Liberal Government had brought in the Home Rule Bill because they had been "compelled to toe the line"?

14. What did Mr. Redmond believe would be the effect of the extension of Home Rule upon the Irish separatists?

15. What was Mr. Redmond's view regarding safeguards for religious equality in Ireland?

16. What did Mr. MacDonald give as the fundamental reason for supporting the Home Rule Bill?

17. What was the attitude of the Scotch members of the House of Commons toward the Home Rule Bill?

18. What attitude did the London *Times* take toward the Home Rule Bill?

19. How large a majority did the Government usually have in the various votes on the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons?

20. What was the earliest effective date when the Home Rule Bill could be passed the third time in the House of Commons according to the Parliament Act of 1911?

21. What were the chief provisions of the Solemn Covenant taken by Ulsterites in September, 1912? Cite evidence that it was popular in Ulster.

22. What attitude did the *Westminster Gazette* take toward the activities in Ulster?

23. What step did Sir Edward Carson take in the Home Rule struggle on January 1, 1913? What arguments did he advance in favor of his plan?

24. What was the reaction of the London *Daily News* toward the House of Lords after their defeat of the Home Rule Bill?

25. What conditions were laid down by Mr. Asquith in his Ladybank speech in October, 1913 as prerequisites for a conference?

26. What proposal was made regarding the Home Rule problem by Mr. Balfour in November, 1913?

27. What step did the British Government take in December, 1913 to handicap military developments in Ulster?

28. How did the Unionists of England justify themselves in tolerating military preparations in Ulster?

29. What three possible compromise proposals did Mr. Asquith discuss in his speech of March 9, 1914?

30. What objections were raised by the Ulsterites to Mr. Asquith's plan for exclusion?

31. What various views were expressed regarding the army crisis of March, 1914?

32. What did the Irish Unionist Alliance request in their petition to the King in May, 1914?

33. What reasons did Mr. Redmond give for coming out in favor of the Irish Nationalist Volunteer movement in 1914?

34. What was the purpose of the Government of Ireland (Amendment) Bill introduced into the House of Lords in June, 1914? What was the attitude of the House of Lords?

35. In the Buckingham Palace Conference of July, 1914, what groups were represented, and by whom?

36. As a result of the outbreak of the World War, what action did Parliament finally take regarding Home Rule in September, 1914?

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